

# THE Dan Smoot Report



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## FOREIGN AID, 1961

### A CFR Product

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One day in the spring of 1961, a New York lawyer received a long distance telephone call. Concerning this call, the *New York Times* reported:

"'This is President Kennedy,' the telephone voice said.

"'The hell you say,' retorted the lawyer. 'I guess that makes me the Prime Minister of England, but what can I do for you?'

"'Nobody's pulling your leg,' the telephone voice said. 'This is President Kennedy all right. I want to talk to you about coming down here to Washington to help me with this long-term foreign aid legislation.'"

One week later, the New York lawyer took an apartment in Washington and, as a member of President Kennedy's "Task Force" on foreign aid, started writing the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. The lawyer is Theodore Tannenwald, Jr., a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, who wrote many of the foreign aid bills which President Harry Truman presented to Congress and who, during the first Eisenhower term, was assistant director of the Mutual Security Program.

After Mr. Tannenwald and his task force had finished writing the 1961 foreign aid bill, President Kennedy appointed Tannenwald co-ordinator in charge of 'presenting' the bill to committees of the House and Senate. Three cabinet officers and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff took their orders from Mr. Tannenwald, who was, according to the *New York Times*, "the Administration's composer, orchestrator and conductor of the most important legislative symphony of the Congressional session."

With admiration, the *Times* said:

"Mr. Tannenwald has been a kind of special White House ambassador to Capitol Hill. While the legislative committees struggled with the controversial proposal to by-pass the appropriating process and give the President authority to borrow \$8,800,000,000 (8 billion, 800 million) for development lending in the next five years, he was the man in the ante-room

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empowered to answer questions in the name of the President."

In July, President Kennedy completed Mr. Tannenwald's foreign aid "orchestra." On July 10, 1961, in ceremonies at the White House, the President formally announced creation of the newest foreign-aid propaganda organization, the Citizens Committee for International Development, with Warren Lee Pierson as chairman. Here is the membership of the Citizens Committee for International Development:

*Eugenie Anderson* (member of the Atlantic Union Committee); *William Benton* (Chairman of the Board of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; member of the Atlantic Union Committee); *Everett N. Case* (President of Colgate University); *O. Roy Chalk* (President of the District of Columbia Transit Company); *Malcolm S. Forbes* (Editor and Publisher of *Forbes Magazine*); *Eleanor Clark French*; *Albert M. Greenfield* (honorary Chairman of the Board of Bankers Security Corporation, Philadelphia); *General Alfred M. Gruenther* (President of the American National Red Cross; member of the Atlantic Union Committee); *Murray D. Lincoln* (Chairman of Nation-wide Insurance Company); *Sol M. Linowitz* (Chairman of Xerox Corporation); *George Meany* (President of AFL-CIO); *William S. Paley* (Chairman of the Board, Columbia Broadcasting System); *Warren Lee Pierson* (Chairman of the Board, Trans-World Airways); *Ross Pritchard* (Professor of Political Science, Southwestern University, Memphis); *Thomas S. Nichols* (Chairman of the Board of Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation; member of the Atlantic Union Committee); *Mrs. Mary G. Roebbing* (President of Trenton Trust Company); *David Sarnoff* (Chairman of Radio Corporation of America); *Walter Sterling Surrey* (legal consultant, Economic Cooperation Administration); *Thomas J. Watson, Jr.*, (President of International Business Machines Corporation); *Walter H. Wheeler, Jr.*, (President of Pitney-Bowes); *James D. Zellerbach* (President and Director of Crown-Zellerbach Corporation; Chairman of Fibreboard Products, Inc.; member of the Atlantic Union Committee and United World Federalists); *Ezra Zilkha* (head of Zilkha & Sons).

Of these 22 people, 12 (including the Chairman) are members of the Council on Foreign Relations: Benton, Case, Gruenther, Paley, Pierson, Pritchard, Nichols, Sarnoff, Surrey, Watson, Wheeler, and Zellerbach.

Heads of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations attended the White House luncheon when the Committee was formed. Vice President Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy were also present. The President urged each and all to get foundations, business firms, civic organizations, and the people generally, to put pressure on Congress in support of the 1961 foreign aid bill.

Thus, in 1961 (as always), the foreign aid bill was a special project of our invisible government, the Council on Foreign Relations.

## Fear Propaganda

And, as always, the great, tax-supported, propaganda machine used a fear psychology to bludgeon the people into silence and the Congress into obedience. Within a week after the July 10, White House luncheon meeting (which launched the CFR's foreign aid committee), the President and his high-level aides were talking about a grave crisis in Berlin and about foreign aid as *the* essential means for 'meeting' that crisis.

On July 25, when congressional debates over the foreign aid bill were in a critical stage, President Kennedy spoke to the nation on radio and television, solemnly warning the people that the Berlin situation was dangerous.

Immediate, additional support for the foreign aid bill came from the country's leftwing forces, who united in a passionate plea—urging the American people to support the President 'in this grave hour.'

On August 27, an Associated Press release announced that House Leader John W. McCormack (Democrat, Massachusetts), was attempting to enlist the cooperation of 2,400

city mayors in support of a long-range foreign aid bill to meet the President's demands.

McCormack sent the city officials a statement of his views with a cover letter 'suggesting' that the matter be brought to "the attention of citizens of your community through publication in your local newspaper," and, further, urging their "personal endorsement of this bipartisan program through the medium of your local press . . ."

State Department officials scheduled speaking tours throughout the land, and internationalist organizations (like the Councils on World Affairs) started the build-up to provide audiences—all in the interest of "briefing" the American people on the necessity and beauties of foreign aid.

Anyone with any sense had to wonder how the giving of American tax money to communist governments in Europe and to socialist governments all over the earth could help us resist communism in Berlin. But with the top leaders in our society (from the President downward to officials in the National Council of Churches) telling us that the survival of our nation depends on the President's getting all the foreign aid 'authorization' he wanted—most Americans remained silent, feeling that such consequential and complicated matters should be left in the hands of our chosen leaders.

By the end of August, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 had been passed by both Houses of Congress; and the 'Berlin crisis' moved from front page lead articles in the nation's newspapers to less important columns.

By mid-September, 1961, both Houses of Congress had authorized appropriations for the foreign aid bill; and the 'Berlin crisis' had moved to the back pages of the papers. The 'crisis' had not entirely passed, however, because Congress had not yet agreed on the foreign aid appropriations bill. The Senate had passed an appropriations bill authorizing virtually all the foreign aid expenditures which the President wanted. The House had passed

one, slicing out a few hundred millions of dollars.

On September 18, 1961, as the First Session of the 87th Congress entered the final stint before adjournment, the two houses of Congress were trying to work out a compromise appropriations bill for foreign aid. It appeared that the President would get the appropriations (if slightly reduced); and so, the Berlin 'crisis' had subsided, in the American press, almost to the vanishing point.

Once again, the nation had seen the propaganda symphony played through to the finale. Or, to put it bluntly, as I did in the August 14, 1961, *Report on Berlin*:

"The Berlin problem . . . is serving the purpose for which it was created in the first place: to justify whatever programs the various governments involved want to pursue.

"It sometimes looks as if the Kremlin and Washington officialdom are working hand-in-glove to deceive the people of both nations, turning the Berlin 'crisis' on and off to cover up failures and to provide excuses for more adventures."

## Statistics

The 1961 foreign aid bill (which the CFR's Mr. Tannenwald wrote for the CFR's Mr. Kennedy) asked for 12 billion, 375 million, 500 thousand dollars.

Mr. Tannenwald asked Congress to appropriate 3 billion, 575 million, 500 thousand for the 1962 fiscal year; and, additionally, he asked Congress to authorize the President to 'borrow' from the Treasury (without the bother of going back to Congress for further appropriations or authorization) 8 billion, 800 million dollars over the next five-year period, beginning in 1962.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was passed by roll-call vote in the House of Representatives (278 to 150) on August 30, and by roll-call vote in the Senate (73 to 25) on August 31. President Kennedy signed the Act



as Public Law 87-195 on September 4, 1961.

Public Law 87-195 authorized \$10,253,500,000 (10 billion, 253 million, 500 thousand) in foreign aid: \$3,066,500,000 appropriated for the 1962 fiscal year, and \$7,187,000,000 Treasury borrowing authorized for the next five years. The law does require the President to obtain annual appropriations for the Treasury borrowing, but permits him to make commitments to lend the money to foreign countries, *before* he obtains appropriations from Congress.

### Bipartisanship

It was widely reported in the press that Congress had denied the President the long-term borrowing authority he had requested; but the President himself was satisfied. He knew that by promising loans to foreign governments (that is, 'committing' the funds in advance of Congressional appropriation) he would thus force Congress (in the interest of showing 'national unity' and of not 'repudiating' our President) to appropriate whatever he promised.

On August 29, the President said:

**"The compromise . . . is wholly satisfactory. It gives the United States Government authority to make commitments for long-term development programs with reasonable assurance that these commitments will be met."**

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon was happy about the 1961 foreign aid bill. On August 29, Nixon, on the ABC radio network, said that he favored such "long-range foreign aid planning, financed through multi-year authorizations and annual appropriations."

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican governor of New York, announced that he too favored "long-range foreign aid planning, financed through multi-year authorizations and annual appropriations"—exactly like Nixon.

Former President Eisenhower was also happy. He too said he favored this sort of thing.

Senator J. William Fulbright (Democrat, Arkansas) was almost jubilant: he said Congress for the next five years would be under "strong obligation" to put up the money for whatever the President promises to foreign governments.

As bad as the 1961 foreign aid bill is for America (and it is inconceivable that anything worse for America could be passed even in a Congress dominated by new-frontier Democrats and modern Republicans) there are two helpful side effects: (1) the 'bi-partisan' support for the monstrous thing proves what most thoughtful Americans have known all along: namely, that the nation wouldn't have been any better off if Nixon had won last year; and (2) the foreign aid bill was passed by roll-call votes, thus providing American voters with a political guide for the congressional elections in 1962.

The foreign aid bill of 1961 is so destructive of American constitutional principles; so harmful to this nation politically, economically, morally, and *militarily*; and so helpful to communism-socialism all over the earth—that congressional voting on the measure (without reference to anything else) could be used by voters as a yardstick in 1962. Every Congressman and Senator who voted for the 1961 foreign aid bill (regardless of how many fine speeches he may have made, or how long he has been in Congress, or how he may have voted on other issues) should be voted out of office. Any person who voted for this bill is unfit to serve in Congress, as long as America is a constitutional republic, because the bill violates the fundamental political principles which are the bedrock of our constitutional system.

The tabulation at the end of this *Report* shows how Congressmen and Senators voted. It is my earnest hope that this voting record will be distributed and used by millions of Americans when they go to the polls in 1962.

## The Harm of Foreign Aid

The basic argument for foreign aid is that by helping the underdeveloped nations develop, we will keep them from falling under the dictatorship of communism. The argument is false and unsound, historically, politically, economically, and morally.

The communists have never subjugated a nation by winning the loyalties of the oppressed and downtrodden. The communists first win the support of liberal-intellectuals, and then use them to subvert and pervert all established mores and ideals and social and political arrangements.

Our foreign aid does not finance freedom in foreign lands: it finances socialism; and a world socialist system is what communists are trying to establish. As early as 1921, Joseph Stalin said that the advanced western nations must give economic aid to other nations in order to socialize their economies and prepare them for integration in the communist's world socialist system.

Our foreign aid enriches and strengthens political leaders and ruling oligarchies (which are often corrupt) in underdeveloped lands; and it does infinite harm to the people of those lands, when it inflates their economy and foists upon them an artificially-produced industrialism which they are not prepared to sustain or even understand.

Our foreign aid does grievous harm to the American people by burdening them with excessive taxation, thus making it difficult for them to expand their own economy. This gives government pretext for intervening with more taxation and controls for domestic subsidies.

Every dollar which government takes out of the paycheck of an American represents an attack on that individual's freedom. A slave is a person who works but is not allowed to keep the product of his own labor to use as he sees fit. When government takes 20% or

50% of a worker's pay, that worker is 20% or 50% a slave of government.

Furthermore, the money that government takes away from us for foreign aid is used to subsidize our political enemies and economic competitors abroad. Note, for example, the large quantities of agricultural goods which we give every year to communist satellite nations, thus enabling communist governments to control the hungry people of those nations. Note that while we are giving away our agricultural surpluses to communist and socialist nations, we, under the 1961 foreign aid bill (as under previous ones) are subsidizing agricultural production in the underdeveloped countries.

The 1961 foreign aid bill prohibits direct aid to Cuba, but authorizes contributions to United Nations agencies, which are giving aid to Cuba.

At a time when the American economy is suffering from the flight of American industry to foreign lands, the foreign aid bill offers subsidies and investment guaranties to American firms moving abroad.

## Rockefellers Exempt

It is interesting to note, however, that the foreign aid bill of 1961 has two specific provisions to protect Rockefeller international interests: (1) the bill prohibits the use of foreign aid funds to finance studies abroad for extractive industries—that means oil: the Rockefellers don't want competitors getting tax money for oil explorations abroad, where the Rockefellers have a corner on present oil production; and (2) the foreign aid bill prohibits the U. S. government from using foreign aid funds to buy United States patented drugs from foreign companies unless those companies have been licensed by the American firms which hold the patents. Rockefeller interests reputedly own most of the drug patents thus involved.

# TABULATION

Y means a vote for the 1961 foreign aid bill, August 30, in the House; August 31, in the Senate. N means a vote against, NV means no vote.

SENATE		HOUSE	
ALABAMA		ALABAMA	
Lister Hill	Y	Frank W. Boykin	Y
John Sparkman	Y	George M. Grant	N
ALASKA		George W. Andrews	N
E. L. Bartlett	Y	Kenneth A. Roberts	N
Ernest Gruening	Y	Albert Rains	Y
ARIZONA		Armistead I. Selden, Jr.	Y
Barry Goldwater	N	Carl Elliott	Y
Carl Hayden	Y	Robert E. Jones	Y
ARKANSAS		George Huddleston, Jr.	Y
J. W. Fulbright	Y	ALASKA	
John L. McClellan	N	Ralph J. Rivers	Y
CALIFORNIA		ARIZONA	
Clair Engle	Y	John J. Rhodes	N
Thomas Kuchel	Y	Morris K. Udall	Y
COLORADO		ARKANSAS	
Gordon Allott	Y	E. C. Gathings	Y
John A. Carroll	Y	Wilbur D. Mills	N
CONNECTICUT		James W. Trimble	Y
Prescott Bush	Y	Oren Harris	N
Thomas J. Dodd	Y	Dale Alford	N
DELAWARE		Catherine D. Norrell	N
J. Caleb Boggs	Y	CALIFORNIA	
John J. Williams	N	Clem Miller	Y
FLORIDA		Harold T. Johnson	Y
Spessard L. Holland	Y	John E. Moss	Y
George A. Smathers	Y	William S. Mailliard	NV
GEORGIA		John F. Shelley	Y
Richard B. Russell	N	John F. Baldwin	Y
Herman E. Talmadge	N	Jeffery Cohelan	Y
HAWAII		George P. Miller	Y
Hiram L. Fong	Y	J. Arthur Younger	Y
Oren E. Long	Y	Charles S. Gubser	Y
IDAHO		John J. McFall	Y
Frank Church	Y	B. F. Sisk	Y
Henry C. Dworshak	N	Charles M. Teague	Y
ILLINOIS		Harlan Hagen	Y
Everett M. Dirksen	Y	Gordon L. McDonough	N
Paul H. Douglas	Y	Alphonzo E. Bell, Jr.	N
INDIANA		Cecil R. King	Y
Homer E. Capehart	N	Craig Hosmer	Y
R. Vance Hartke	Y	Chet Holifield	Y
IOWA		H. Allen Smith	N
B. B. Hickenlooper	Y	Edgar W. Hiestand	N
Jack Miller	Y	James C. Corman	Y
KANSAS		Clyde Doyle	Y
Frank Carlson	NV	Glenard P. Lipscomb	N
Andrew Schoepfel	N	John H. Rousselot	N
KENTUCKY		James Roosevelt	Y
John Sherman Cooper	Y	Harry R. Sheppard	Y
Thurston B. Morton	Y	James B. Utt	N
LOUISIANA		D. S. Saund	Y
Allen B. Ellender	N	Bob Wilson	Y
Russell B. Long	N	COLORADO	
MAINE		Byron G. Rogers	Y
Edmund S. Muskie	Y	Peter H. Dominick	Y
Margaret Chase Smith	Y	J. Edgar Chenoweth	Y
MARYLAND		Wayne N. Aspinall	Y
J. Glenn Beall	Y	CONNECTICUT	
John Marshall Butler	Y	Emilio Q. Daddario	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		Horace Seely-Brown, Jr.	Y
Leverett Saltonstall	Y	Robert N. Giaimo	Y
Benjamin Smith II	Y	Abner W. Sibal	Y
MICHIGAN		John S. Monogan	Y
Philip A. Hart	Y	Frank Kowalski	Y
Pat McNamara	Y	DELAWARE	
MINNESOTA		Harris B. McDowell, Jr.	Y
Hubert Humphrey	Y	FLORIDA	
Eugene J. McCarthy	Y	William C. Cramer	N
MISSISSIPPI		Charles E. Bennett	Y
James O. Eastland	N	Robert L. F. Sikes	N
John Stennis	N	Dante B. Fascell	Y
MISSOURI		A. Sydney Herlong, Jr.	Y
Edward V. Long	Y	Paul G. Rogers	N
Stuart Symington	Y	James A. Haley	N
		D. R. (Billy) Matthews	Y
		GEORGIA	
		Elliott Hagan	N
MONTANA			
Mike Mansfield	Y		
Lee Metcalf	Y		
NEBRASKA			
Carl T. Curtis	N		
Roman L. Hruska	N		
NEVADA			
Alan Bible	N		
Howard W. Cannon	Y		
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Styles Bridges	NV		
Norris Cotton	Y		
NEW JERSEY			
Clifford P. Case	Y		
Harrison Williams	Y		
NEW MEXICO			
Clinton P. Anderson	Y		
Dennis Chavez	Y		
NEW YORK			
Kenneth B. Keating	Y		
Jacob K. Javits	Y		
NORTH CAROLINA			
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	N		
B. Everett Jordan	N		
NORTH DAKOTA			
Quenton N. Burdick	Y		
Milton R. Young	N		
OHIO			
Frank J. Lausche	Y		
Stephen M. Young	Y		
OKLAHOMA			
Robert S. Kerr	Y		
A. S. Mike Monroney	Y		
OREGON			
Wayne Morse	Y		
Maurine B. Neuberger	Y		
PENNSYLVANIA			
Joseph S. Clark	Y		
Hugh Scott	Y		
RHODE ISLAND			
John O. Pastore	Y		
Claiborne Pell	Y		
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Olin D. Johnston	N		
J. Strom Thurmond	N		
SOUTH DAKOTA			
Francis Case	N		
Karl E. Mundt	Y		
TENNESSEE			
Albert Gore	Y		
Estes Kefauver	Y		
TEXAS			
John W. Tower	N		
Ralph Yarborough	Y		
UTAH			
Wallace F. Bennett	N		
Frank E. Moss	Y		
VERMONT			
George D. Aiken	Y		
Winston L. Prouty	Y		
VIRGINIA			
Harry F. Byrd	N		
A. Willis Robertson	N		
WASHINGTON			
Henry M. Jackson	Y		
Warren G. Magnuson	Y		
WEST VIRGINIA			
Robert C. Byrd	Y		
Jennings Randolph	Y		
WISCONSIN			
William Proxmire	Y		
Alexander Wiley	Y		
WYOMING			
J. J. Hickey	Y		
Gale McGee	Y		



J. L. Pilcher	N	T. Ashton Thompson	NV	Ralph F. Beermann	N
E. L. (Tic) Forrester	N	Harold B. McSween	N	Dave Martin	N
John J. Flynt, Jr.	N	MAINE		NEVADA	
James C. Davis	N	Peter A. Garland	Y	Walter S. Baring	N
Carl Vinson	Y	Stanley R. Tupper	Y	NEW HAMPSHIRE	
John W. Davis	N	Clifford G. McIntire	N	Chester E. Merrow	Y
Iris F. Blich	N	MARYLAND		Perkins Bass	Y
Phil Landrum	N	Thomas F. Johnson	Y	NEW JERSEY	
Robert P. Stephens, Jr.	N	Daniel B. Brewster	Y	William T. Cahill	Y
HAWAII		Edward A. Garmatz	Y	Milton W. Glenn	Y
Daniel K. Inouye	Y	George H. Fallon	Y	James C. Auchincloss	Y
IDAHO		Richard E. Lankford	Y	Frank Thompson, Jr.	Y
Gracie Pfost	N	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	Y	Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr.	Y
Ralph R. Harding	Y	Samuel N. Friedel	Y	Florence P. Dwyer	Y
ILLINOIS		MASSACHUSETTS		William B. Widnall	Y
William L. Dawson	Y	Silvio O. Conte	Y	Charles S. Joelson	Y
Barratt O'Hara	Y	Edward P. Boland	Y	Frank C. Osmer, Jr.	Y
William T. Murphy	Y	Philip J. Philbin	Y	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	Y
Edward J. Derwinski	N	Harold D. Donohue	Y	Hugh J. Addonizio	Y
John C. Kluczynski	Y	F. Bradford Morse	Y	George M. Wallhauser	Y
Thomas J. O'Brien	Y	William H. Bates	Y	Cornelius E. Gallagher	Y
Roland V. Libonati	Y	Thomas J. Lane	Y	Dominick V. Daniels	Y
Daniel Rostenkowski	Y	Torbert H. MacDonald	Y	NEW MEXICO	
Sidney R. Yates	Y	Hastings Keith	Y	Joseph M. Montoya	Y
Harold R. Collier	N	Laurence Curtis	Y	Thomas G. Morris	N
Roman C. Pucinski	Y	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Y	NEW YORK	
Edward R. Finnegan	Y	John W. McCormack	Y	Otis G. Pike	Y
Marguerite Stitt Church	N	James A. Burke	Y	Steven B. Derounian	Y
Elmer J. Hoffman	N	Joseph W. Martin, Jr.	Y	Frank J. Becker	N
Noah M. Mason	N	MICHIGAN		Seymour Halpern	Y
John B. Anderson	N	Thaddeus M. Machrowicz	Y	Joseph P. Addabbo	Y
Leslie C. Arends	Y	George Meader	N	Lester Holtzman	Y
Robert H. Michel	N	August E. Johansen	N	James J. Delaney	Y
Robert B. Chipfield	N	Clare E. Hoffman	N	Victor L. Anfuso	Y
Paul Findley	Y	Gerald R. Ford, Jr.	Y	Eugene J. Keogh	Y
Peter F. Mack, Jr.	N	Charles E. Chamberlain	Y	Edna F. Kelly	Y
William L. Springer	Y	James G. O'Hara	N	Emanuel Celler	Y
George E. Shipley	Y	James Harvey	N	Hugh L. Carey	Y
Melvin Price	Y	Robert P. Griffin	Y	Abraham J. Multer	Y
Kenneth J. Gray	Y	Elford A. Cederberg	N	John J. Rooney	Y
INDIANA		Victor A. Knox	N	John H. Ray	N
Ray J. Madden	Y	John B. Bennett	N	Adam C. Powell	Y
Charles A. Halleck	Y	Charles C. Diggs, Jr.	Y	John V. Lindsay	Y
John Brademas	N	Louis C. Rabaut	Y	Alfred E. Santangelo	Y
E. Ross Adair	N	John D. Dingell	Y	Leonard Farbstein	Y
J. Edward Roush	N	John Lesinski	Y	William F. Ryan	Y
Richard L. Roudebush	N	Martha W. Griffiths	Y	Herbert Zelenko	Y
William G. Bray	Y	William S. Broomfield	Y	James C. Healey	Y
Winfield K. Denton	Y	MINNESOTA		Jacob H. Gilbert	Y
Earl Wilson	N	Albert H. Quie	Y	Charles A. Buckley	Y
Ralph Harvey	N	Ancher Nelsen	Y	Paul A. Fino	Y
Donald C. Bruce	N	Clark MacGregor	Y	Edwin B. Dooley	Y
IOWA		Joseph E. Karth	Y	Robert R. Barry	Y
Fred Schwengel	Y	Walter H. Judd	Y	Katharine St. George	N
James E. Bromwell	Y	Fred Marshall	Y	J. Ernest Wharton	N
H. R. Gross	N	H. Carl Andersen	N	Lee W. O'Brien	Y
John Kyl	N	John A. Blatnik	Y	Carleton J. King	Y
Neal Smith	Y	Odin Langen	N	Samuel S. Stratton	Y
Merwin Coad	Y	MISSISSIPPI		Clarence E. Kilburn	Y
Ben F. Jensen	N	Thomas G. Abernethy	N	Alexander Pirnie	Y
Charles B. Hoeven	N	Jamie L. Whitten	N	R. Walter Riehman	Y
KANSAS		Frank E. Smith	Y	John Taber	N
William H. Avery	Y	John Bell Williams	N	Howard W. Robison	Y
Robert F. Ellsworth	Y	Arthur Winstead	N	Jessica McC. Weis	Y
Walter L. McVey	N	William M. Colmer	N	Harold C. Ostertag	Y
Garner E. Shriver	N	MISSOURI		William E. Miller	Y
J. Floyd Breeding	Y	Frank M. Karsten	Y	Thaddeus J. Dulski	Y
Robert Dole	N	Thomas B. Curtis	Y	John R. Pillion	N
KENTUCKY		Leonor K. Sullivan	Y	Charles E. Goodell	Y
Frank A. Stubblefield	Y	William J. Randall	Y	NORTH CAROLINA	
William H. Natcher	Y	Richard Bolling	Y	Herbert C. Bonner	N
Frank W. Burke	Y	W. R. Hull, Jr.	N	L. H. Fountain	Y
Frank Chelf	Y	Durward G. Hall	N	David N. Henderson	Y
Brent Spence	Y	Richard Ichord	Y	Harold D. Cooley	Y
John C. Watts	Y	Clarence Cannon	Y	Ralph J. Scott	Y
Carl D. Perkins	Y	Paul C. Jones	Y	Horace R. Kornegay	Y
Eugene Siler	N	Morgan M. Maulder	N	Alton Lennon	N
LOUISIANA		MONTANA		A. Paul Kitchin	N
F. Edward Hebert	Y	Arnold Olsen	Y	Hugh Q. Alexander	N
Hale Boggs	Y	James F. Battin	N	Charles Raper Jonas	N
Edwin E. Willis	N	NEBRASKA		Basil L. Whitener	N
Overton Brooks	N	Phil Weaver	N	Roy A. Taylor	Y
Otto E. Passman	N	Glenn Cunningham	N		
James H. Morrison	Y				

NORTH DAKOTA			Francis E. Walter	Y	John Young
Don Short	N		John C. Kunkel	Y	Joe M. Kilgore
Hjalmar C. Nygaard	N		Herman T. Schneebeli	Y	J. T. Rutherford
OHIO			J. Irving Whalley	Y	Omar Burleson
Gordon H. Scherer	N		George A. Goodling	N	Walter E. Rogers
Donald D. Clancy	N		James E. Van Zandt	Y	George H. Mahon
Paul F. Schenck	N		John H. Dent	Y	Paul J. Kilday
William M. McCulloch	N		John P. Saylor	N	O. Clark Fisher
Delbert L. Latta	N		Leon H. Gavin	N	Robert R. Casey
William H. Harsha, Jr.	N		Carroll D. Kearns	N	UTAH
Clarence J. Brown	N		Frank M. Clark	Y	M. Blaine Peterson
Jackson E. Betts	N		Thomas E. Morgan	Y	David S. King
Thomas L. Ashley	Y		James G. Fulton	Y	VERMONT
Walter H. Moeller	Y		William S. Moorhead	Y	Robert T. Stafford
Robert E. Cook	Y		Robert J. Corbett	Y	VIRGINIA
Samuel L. Devine	N		Elmer J. Holland	Y	Thomas N. Downing
Charles A. Mosher	Y		RHODE ISLAND		Porter Hardy, Jr.
William H. Ayres	N		Fernand J. St. Germain	Y	J. Vaughan Gary
Tom V. Moorehead	N		John E. Fogarty	Y	Watkins M. Abbott
Frank T. Bow	N		SOUTH CAROLINA		William M. Tuck
John M. Ashbrook	N		L. Mendel Rivers	N	Richard H. Poff
Wayne L. Hays	Y		John J. Riley	N	Burr P. Harrison
Michael J. Kirwan	Y		W. J. Bryan Dorn	N	Howard W. Smith
Michael A. Feighan	Y		Robert T. Ashmore	N	W. Pat Jennings
Charles A. Vanik	Y		Robert W. Hemphill	N	Joel T. Broyhill
Frances P. Bolton	Y		John L. McMillan	N	WASHINGTON
William E. Minshall	NV		SOUTH DAKOTA		Thomas M. Pelly
OKLAHOMA			Ben Reifel	Y	Jack Westland
Page Belcher	N		E. Y. Berry	N	Julia B. Hansen
Ed Edmondson	Y		TENNESSEE		Catherine May
Carl Albert	Y		Louise Goff Reece	N	Walt Horan
Tom Steed	Y		Howard H. Baker	N	Thor C. Tollefson
John Jarman	Y		James B. Frazier, Jr.	Y	Don Magnuson
Victor Wickersham	Y		Joe L. Evins	Y	WEST VIRGINIA
OREGON			J. Carlton Loser	Y	Arch A. Moore, Jr.
Walter Norblad	Y		Ross Bass	Y	Harley O. Staggers
Al Ullman	Y		Tom Murray	NV	Cleveland M. Bailey
Edith Green	Y		Robert A. Everett	Y	Ken Hechler
Edwin R. Durno	Y		Clifford Davis	Y	Elizabeth Kee
PENNSYLVANIA			TEXAS		John M. Slack, Jr.
William A. Barrett	Y		Wright Patman	Y	WISCONSIN
Kathryn E. Granahan	Y		Jack Brooks	Y	Henry C. Schadeberg
James A. Byrne	Y		Lindley Beckworth	Y	Robert W. Kastenmeier
Robert N. C. Nix	Y		Sam Rayburn	NV	Vernon W. Thomson
William J. Green, Jr.	Y		Bruce Alger	N	Clement J. Zablocki
Herman Toll	Y		Olin E. Teague	N	Henry S. Reuss
William H. Milliken, Jr.	NV		John Dowdy	N	William K. Van Pelt
Willard S. Curtin	Y		Albert Thomas	Y	Melvin R. Laird
Paul B. Dague	Y		Clark Thompson	Y	John W. Byrnes
William W. Scranton	Y		Homer Thornberry	Y	Lester R. Johnson
Daniel J. Flood	Y		William R. Poage	N	Alvin E. O'Konski
Ivor D. Fenton	Y		James C. Wright	NV	WYOMING
Richard S. Schweiker	Y		Frank Ikard	Y	William Henry Harrison
George M. Rhodes	Y				

## WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He served as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side—the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report*.